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THE EMPEROR AS ARTIST:

New Discoveries Concerning Ferdinand III's Musical Compositions

The Holy Roman Emperor Ferdinand III (r. 1637-57) enjoyed a considerable reputation as a patron of music. Ernst Ludwig Gerber succinctly summarized seventeenth-century opinion by noting simply that Ferdinand was "*praised by all the writers of his time as a great connoisseur and patron of music*"¹. Ferdinand's large and thoroughly Italianate music chapel cultivated virtually every style and genre of the mid-seventeenth century², and could number among its members such composers as Antonio Bertalli, Benedetto Ferrari, Johann Jakob Froberger, Giovanni Felice Sances, Johann Heinrich Schmelzer, and Giovanni Valentini³. The emperor's knowledge of music was first-hand: he was a keen critic of the abilities of court music personnel⁴, and took part in performances at court⁵. Ferdinand III was also active both as a poet (much of his Italian verse was intended to be set to music)⁶, and as the first in a line of Habsburg

1 Ernst Ludwig Gerber, *Historisch-biographisches Lexikon der Tonkünstler*. Leipzig 1790-92; repr., Graz 1977, col. 404.

2 See especially Herbert Seifert, *Die Entfaltung des Barock*, in: Rudolf Flotzinger - Gernot Gruber (ed.), *Musikgeschichte Österreichs* vol. I. Graz 1977, pp. 351-68.

3 Ludwig Ritter von Köchel, *Die kaiserliche Hof-Musikkapelle in Wien von 1543 bis 1867*. Vienna 1869; repr., Hildesheim 1976, pp. 58-65.

4 See, for example, the report of the Venetian representative Girolamo Giustiani from 1654, quoted in Joseph Fiedler (ed.), *Die Relationen der Botschafter Venedigs über Deutschland und Österreich im siebzehnten Jahrhundert* I. Vienna 1866 (*Fontes rerum Austriacarum* 26) p. 387: "*La musica è l'unica sua delectatione, compone bene, e giudica delle uoci e dell'arte esquisitamente.*" See also Ferdinand III's negative evaluation of the Roman castrato "Giuseppino" in Vienna, Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv [HHStA], Familienkorrespondenz A, Karton 11, fol. 116r (Ferdinand III to Archduke Leopold Wilhelm, 14 December 1641). Ferdinand commented again on this singer, a bit more sympathetically, two weeks later; see idem, fol. 126v (Ferdinand III to Archduke Leopold Wilhelm, 28 December 1641). Ferdinand was also acutely aware of the capabilities of his musicians. He realized, for example, that Pietro Verdina would be able to transpose compositions up a fourth; idem, fol. 153r (Ferdinand III to Archduke Leopold Wilhelm, 24 August 1642). See further the account of Ferdinand's comments on the singer Giovanni Battista Rota from 1639, quoted in Thomas D. Culley SJ, *A Study of the Musicians Connected with the German College in Rome during the Seventeenth Century and of Their Activities in Northern Europe*. Rome 1970, pp. 212-13.

5 Ferdinand III performed in an equestrian ballet on 27 January 1636, and danced in other court performances in February 1636 and March 1639; see Herbert Seifert, *Die Oper am Wiener Kaiserhof im 17. Jahrhundert*. Tutzing 1985 (*Wiener Veröffentlichungen zur Musikgeschichte* 25) pp. 437-38.

6 Ferdinand published a collection of Italian poetry under the pseudonym *Academico Occupato*: *Poesie diverse composte in hore rubate d'Academico Occupato*. n. pl., n. d. (copy in A Wn, shelfmark *38.Dd.125). In addition, a *Canzona fatta da Sua Altezza Imperiale* appears the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Seria nova 4270, the manuscript libretto to *Versi Italiani per la Musica fatti dell'Arichd[uc]a Leopoldo per il sepolcro della Sett[im]a Santa, 4 Aprile 1654*. A surviving archival document suggests that this work was presented, possibly in Vien-

emperor-composers. Perhaps in recognition of the emperor's special competence in music, Ferdinand III not only received dedications in the common form of musical compositions⁷, but was also the dedicatee of a number of musical treatises⁸. The identification of Ferdinand III with music was so strong, in fact, that one treatise advocated a method of solmization based on the Latin form of the emperor's name, *Fer-di-nan-dus Ter-ti-us*⁹. According to the scheme proposed by the treatise's anonymous author, the seven syllables of the emperor's name would serve as solmization syllables, with the syllables **di** and **ti** marking the location of the two half steps within the diatonic octave, analogous to the function of **mi** and **si** (or **ti**) in the conventional solmization system.

Nearly a century ago, Guido Adler established a preliminary works list for Ferdinand III, and published several of the emperor's compositions in modern editions¹⁰. Adler uncovered only seven extant works by Ferdinand III¹¹; in ad-

na: the imperial chamber painter Frans Leux (Leux, Luycx, Luyckx) received payments on 14 April 1654 "*weg[en] bey Verfertigung des H[eiligen] Grabs ausgelegten Vncosten*"; see Vienna, Hofkammerarchiv [HKA], Hoffinanz, Expeditionsbücher, E833 (1654), fol. 259r. The document may refer to the painting of a scenic backdrop, similar to those used at later sepolcro performances.

- 7 The best known musical dedication to Ferdinand III, of course, is that of Monteverdi's *Eighth Book of Madrigals*. This collection was originally intended for Ferdinand III's father, Ferdinand II, however, and was probably transmitted to Vienna as early as 1633, nearly five years before its eventual publication. For details concerning the chronology see Steven Saunders, *New Light on the Genesis of Monteverdi's Eighth Book of Madrigals* in: *ML* 77 (1996) p. 183-193.
- 8 See, for instance, the manuscript treatise by Adam Obermayer, *Institutiones musicae*, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek [A Wn], Cod. 10532. Ferdinand III also helped to underwrite the publication of Athanasius Kircher's *Musurgia universalis*, which was dedicated to his brother, Archduke Leopold Wilhelm. See also the comments from Kircher's autobiography quoted in Ulf Scharlau, *Athanasius Kircher (1601-1680) als Musikschriststeller: Ein Beitrag zur Musikanschauung des Barock*. Marburg 1969, p. 19: "*Ich wünsche deshalb auch, daß alle meine früher herausgegebenen Werke dem großherzigen Kaiser Ferdinand III und die nach dessen Tode erschienene seinen Sohne, dem Kaiser Leopold, von der Nachwelt gewidmet werden.*"
- 9 *FER-DI-NAN-DUS TER-TI-US sive Sanctae-Crucis musicae errorem totius orbis terrarum corrigentis novi canone*. Vienna 1647. This is listed as a work of Ferdinand III in *RISM: Einzeldrucke vor 1800* III. Kassel 1972, p. 18. However, this treatise (not a collection of music, as its inclusion in the *RISM: Einzeldrucke* volume suggests) was not written by Ferdinand III, but by an anonymous writer associated with the Cistercian monastery at Heiligenkreuz. The writer had close contacts with Alberich Mazak, another monk from the order who enjoyed a reputation as a composer. Several letters of commentary by Mazak were published following the body of the treatise.
- 10 Guido Adler (ed.), *Musikalische Werke der Kaiser Ferdinand III., Leopold I. und Joseph I.*, vol. I. Vienna 1892; repr., Farnborough, Hants 1972, pp. ii-iv.
- 11 The compositions known to Adler include: a *Drama musicum* from 1649, a five-voice Litany, an eight-voice Mass Ordinary, a setting of the *Miserere*, the hymn *Jesu redemptor omnium*, the madrigal *Chi volge ne la mente*, and a keyboard Aria, to which Wolfgang Ebner appended thirty-six variations. The sources for these works are listed in the appendix to

dition, he mentioned several lost works listed the so-called *Distinta specificatio-ne*, a musical inventory from the court of Leopold I¹². Since the appearance of Adler's pioneering work, a number of studies concerning the Habsburg emperor-composers have appeared¹³, including two very illuminating recent articles devoted to Ferdinand III and his court by Theophil Antonicek¹⁴. Nonetheless, no attempt has yet been made to update Adler's list of Ferdinand III's musical compositions. In fact, knowledge of the emperor's compositional output has, if anything, become more confused in recent years, as Adler's writings have been misread or incompletely reported in the most widely consulted reference works¹⁵. A survey of the extant sources for Ferdinand's music makes clear that his compositional activities were far more extensive and varied than has been assumed.

The most comprehensive source for the music of Ferdinand III is one that has been overlooked in previous discussions of music at the Habsburg court in the seventeenth century: Ratsbücherei der Stadt Lüneburg [D Lr], Mus. ant. pract. K. N. 28¹⁶. The manuscript stems from the Nachlaß of Johann Jakob Löwe von Eisenach, organist at St. Nicholas in Lüneburg between 1683-1703. Von Eisenach, who, as son of the Saxon ambassador in Vienna, received his musical education from imperial musicians¹⁷, probably obtained the manuscripts that make up K. N. 28 long before his tenure at St. Nicholas, however. In 1660 he wrote to Heinrich Schütz from Wolfenbüttel, mentioning his desire to obtain copies of compositions by famous Viennese composers¹⁸. This attempt must

this article.

- 12 A Wn, Suppl. mus. 2451, *Distinta specificazione dell'archivio musicale [...] della Sacra Ces.^a Real Maestà di Leopoldo Augm.^o Imperat.^{re}*.
- 13 Theophil Antonicek, *Musizierende Kaiser*, in: *Notring Jb* (1972) pp. 75-76; idem, *Die musikalischen Jugendwerke Kaiser Leopolds I.*, in: *StMw* 42 (1993) pp. 97-113; Günter Brosche, *Die musikalischen Werke Kaiser Leopolds I.: Ein systematisch-thematisches Verzeichnis der erhaltenen Kompositionen*, in: Günter Brosche (ed.), *Beiträge zur Musikdokumentation: Franz Grasberger zum 60. Geburtstag*. Tutzing 1975, pp. 27-82; H.V.F. Somerset, *The Habsburg Emperors as Musicians*, in: *ML* 30 (1949) pp. 204-15; and Othmar Wesely, *Habsburger Kaiser als Komponisten*, in: *Notring Jb* (1959) pp. 59-60.
- 14 Theophil Antonicek, *Die italienischen Textvertonungen Kaiser Ferdinands III.*, in: Alberto Martino (ed.), *Beiträge zur Aufnahme der italienischen und spanischen Literatur in Deutschland im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert*. Amsterdam - Atlanta 1990 (Chloe 9) pp. 209-33; and idem, *Musik und italienische Poesie am Hofe Kaiser Ferdinands III.*, in: *Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Anzeiger der phil.-hist. Klasse* 126 (1989). Wien 1990 (Mitteilungen der Kommission für Musikforschung 42) pp. 1-22.
- 15 The list of works in the articles s.v. *Ferdinand III* in both *MGG* and the *NGrove*, for example, contain several errors and inconsistencies.
- 16 Description in Friedrich Welter, *Katalog der Musikalien der Ratsbücherei Lüneburg*. Lippstadt 1950, p. 23.
- 17 Horst Walter, *Musikgeschichte der Stadt Lüneburg vom Ende des 16. bis zum Anfang des 18. Jahrhunderts*. Tutzing 1967, p. 96.
- 18 Idem, p. 133.

have met with success, for, some ten years after Löwe von Eisenach's death in 1703, his widow presented thirteen bound music books to the city of Lüneburg, among them K. N. 28, which is devoted entirely to the works of composers associated with the imperial court¹⁹.

This manuscript consists of five distinct layers, which can be easily differentiated by their contents, scribes, page size, and watermarks (see Table 1).

Table 1. Contents of D Lr, Mus. ant. pract. K. N. 28

Layer	fols.	Contents	Scribe	Page Size	Watermarks
1	1-4	Ferdinand III, <i>Popule meus</i>	Ferdinand III	302x221	A
2	5-48	Ferdinand III, Ten hymn settings	Scribe A	302x222	B
3	49-76	Pietro Verdina, Compline setting Giovanni Valentini, Sonata à 4 Giovanni Valentini, <i>O felix Maria</i>	Scribe A	288x210	C,D
4	77-106	Pietro Verdina, <i>Missa Crucificationes</i> Pietro Verdina, <i>Missa longa et brevis</i>	Pietro Verdina	285x214	E
5	107-118	Pietro Verdina, <i>Laudate Dominum</i>	Pietro Verdina	293x212	F

Von Eisenach would doubtless have considered the compositions in K. N. 28 to be the work of "*famous Viennese composers*". They include a motet and sonata by Giovanni Valentini, the imperial chapel master from 1626 until his death in 1649²⁰; numerous works by Pietro Verdina, vice-chapel master under Valentini and simultaneously a musician to Archduke Leopold Wilhelm; and a motet and ten hymn settings by Ferdinand III himself. Moreover, the scribal hands and watermarks suggest that the manuscript itself must have originated at the imperial court.

The distinctive handwriting in *Popule meus* reveals the scribe as none other than Emperor Ferdinand III (Example 1)²¹, and the final two layers, which are devoted principally to works of Pietro Verdina, were copied by the composer himself (Example 2)²².

¹⁹ Idem, p. 132.

²⁰ The date when Valentini succeeded Giovanni Priuli as imperial chapel master has long been a source of confusion. Köchel, and, following him, most other modern writers, have given the year of Priuli's death as 1629; see Ludwig von Köchel, fn. 3, p. 56. Jerome Roche's article s. v. *Giovanni Priuli* in the *NGrove* XV, pp. 276-77, however, claims that Valentini succeeded Priuli as Hofkapellmeister in 1622. In fact, Priuli died in the summer of 1626, and Valentini succeeded him within a few months. See Steven Saunders, *Cross, Sword, and Lyre: Sacred Music at the Imperial Court of Ferdinand II (1619-1637)*. Oxford 1995, pp. 154-57.

²¹ A title at the beginning of the piece, not in the emperor's hand, reads: "*Sac.^{ae} Caes.^{ae} Majestatis Ferdinandi Tertii Manuscriptum & Compositio*" (see Example 1). The surviving autographs of the emperor are naturally quite numerous. As a basis for comparison I have used Vienna, HKA, Autographen Nr. 74 (Ferdinand III), and the extensive autograph correspondence found in Vienna, HHStA, Familienkorrespondenz A.

²² A number of telltale similarities between K. N. 28 and Verdina's hand confirm the supposition, already proposed by Welter, that this portion of the manuscript is in the composer's autograph; see Friedrich Welter, fn. 16, p. 314. These similarities include: the overall slant of the hand; a tendency of the ascenders on "b" to slope sharply to the right; an unusually

Example 1: D Lr, K. N. 28, fol. 1r (autograph of Ferdinand III)



long and open loop on lower case "g"; and the forms of many individual letters. A sample of Verdina's autograph is found in Vienna, HKA, Hoffinanz, Hoffinanzakten, Sig. 276 (April-May 1640), unfoliated.

Example 2: D Lr, K. N. 28, p. 154 (autograph of Pietro Verdina)

This image shows a handwritten musical score on aged, slightly stained paper. The score is written in ink and consists of approximately 15 staves. The notation is a mix of standard musical symbols (notes, rests, bar lines) and some shorthand or shorthand-like notation, particularly in the lower staves. The lyrics "Kirie eleison" are written in a cursive hand below the staves, often repeated. The paper shows signs of age, including foxing and some ink bleed-through from the reverse side. The overall impression is that of a working draft or autograph manuscript.

Verdina's identity as the copyist finds further confirmation in the table of contents to K. N. 28, which lists the three works by Verdina in layers four and five as: *Missa à 6 voci: 6 Inst. P: Verdini Manusc.*; *Missa Longa et Brevis à 8: P: Verdi: Manusc.*; and *Laudate Domin: P: Verd: Manusc.*²³.

The watermarks of K. N. 28 also point toward a Viennese origin for the manuscript, and help to date the various layers of the compilation. A number of seventeenth-century Viennese manuscripts use papers whose watermarks are the same as those of the Lüneburg manuscript. The watermarks from these Viennese sources present a remarkably coherent and uniform picture; all appear in manuscripts that date from the 1640s or early 1650s²⁴. The watermark in layer 1, the Doppeladler with a sickle in the breastplate (watermark A in Table 1)²⁵, is found in paybooks from the Vienna court from 1645 and 1646²⁶. These dates square perfectly with the date of composition of the work in layer 1, Ferdinand III's *Popule meus* (see below). The watermarks in the second layer, a crown with the letters H-S at either side (watermark B), turn up in a letter from Ferdinand III from the 1640s²⁷.

One of the watermarks in layer three, a fleur-de-lis within a shield, capped by a crown, and flanked by the letters H-R (watermark C), is found in an undated imperial court choirbook copied by Georg Moser²⁸, who was employed as a copyist between 1637 and 1654²⁹. The other watermark in this layer, a framed serpent beneath the letters WM (watermark D), is also encountered in a large number of musical manuscripts prepared by Moser; all of these manuscripts whose dates can be determined were copied in the 1640s³⁰. Finally, the

23 Germany, Ratsbücherei der Stadt Lüneburg [D Lr], Mus. ant. pract. K. N. 28, fol. 119 (back fly leaf).

24 I have not found any watermarks, however, that match K. N. 28 precisely; i.e., papers that came from the same molds.

25 The sickle was the mark used by the paper mill at Lengfelden, near Salzburg, from 1552. See Georg Eineder, *The Ancient Paper-Mills of the Former Austro-Hungarian Empire and Their Watermarks*. Hilversum 1960 (Monumenta Chartae Papyraceae Historiam Illustrantia 7) p. 69.

26 Vienna, HKA, Hoffinanz, Hofzahlamtsbücher, Sig. 91 (1645); and Sig. 92 (1646).

27 E. J. LaBarre (ed.), *The Nostitz Papers: Notes on Watermarks Found in the German Imperial Archives of the 17th and 18th Centuries, and Essays Showing the Evolution of a Number of Watermarks*. Hilversum 1961 (Monumenta Chartae Papyraceae Historiam Illustrantia 5) Watermark 581; see also p. 104.

28 A Wn, Cod. 16198.

29 The date for the beginning of Georg Moser (the Elder's) service as a copyist, 1637, is based on Vienna, HHStA, Obersthofmeisteramt, Sonderreihe, Bd. 186, fol. 110v; and Vienna, HKA, Hoffinanz, Hofzahlamtsbücher, Sig. 84 (1637-39). Moser probably entered the imperial service the previous year, however, for he was awarded a Passbrief for grain in February 1636; see Vienna, HKA, Hoffinanz, Expeditionsbücher E 757 (1636) fol. 71v.

30 The manuscripts featuring this serpent watermark include A Wn, Cod. 11774; 16193; 16196; 16202; 16203; and 16205. Cod. 16193 is dated 1644, and Cod. 11774, a copy of Ferdinand III's setting of the *Miserere*, must date from 1640. Ferdinand wrote to Leopold Wilhelm on 9 April 1640 that he had composed "*ein Miserere [...] durch und durch Componirt a 1 2 3 Sopran 2 Alt 2 Tenor 3 Bass*," and Moser noted his inability to complete the copying before Lent in the his dedication to the fair copy, Cod. 11774. See also Theophil Antonicek, *Musik und Italienische Poesie*, fn. 14, p. 4.

watermark in the last layer, a large crown topped by a cross (watermark F), appears in several Viennese documents from the late 1640s and early 1650s³¹. The watermark evidence, then, points strongly Vienna of the 1640s and early 1650s as the point of origin for most of K. N. 28. As we shall see, such a dating is quite consistent with other evidence.

In fact, we can fix the date of composition for the first work in K. N. 28, Ferdinand III's setting of *Popule meus*, with some certainty: on 1 February 1646, Ferdinand wrote to his brother, Archduke Leopold Wilhelm, "*Ich hab ein fasten Motett Componirt, a un Tenor e Contralto, Ich hoffe es solte gar anmietig sein Ich habs ganz in freta in wenig Zeit gemacht [...]*"³². *Popule meus* conforms precisely to this description: it is scored for two voices in alto and tenor clefs (plus basso continuo), and its text comes from the Good Friday Reproaches, words that Ferdinand might well have described as a Lenten motet ("*ein fasten Motett*")³³. The manuscript even shows unmistakable signs of haste, with barely legible writing, haphazard text underlay, and passages crossed out (see Example 1).

Settings of ten hymns have long been attributed to Ferdinand III on the basis of their inclusion in the *Distinta specificazione*, the catalog of the music archive of Ferdinand's son, Emperor Leopold I, mentioned in passing above³⁴. It is tempting, therefore, to identify the ten hymns in the Lüneburg manuscript with those listed in this inventory. A comparison of texts and scorings however, reveals that there is not a one-to-one correspondence between the two sets of hymns (see Table 2.)

Table 2. Comparison of Hymn Settings by Ferdinand III

Distinta specificazione	D Lr, K. N. 28
<i>Humanae salutis sator</i>	8. <i>Humanae salutis sator</i>
CATB, 2 violins, 2 cornettos, 4 trombones, fagotto con ripieni	CATB, 2 violins, 2 cornettos, 4 trombones, fagotto
<i>Crudelis Herodes</i>	6. <i>Crudelis Herodes</i>
4 voices, 4 viole	CATB, 5 viole
<i>Pange lingua</i>	10. <i>Pange lingua</i>
4 voices, 3 viole, 2 viole da gamba, violone obbligato, con ripieni	CATB, 5 unspecified instruments

31 The same watermarks are found in Vienna, HKA, Fasz. 74, Urkunde 12 (proclamation of 2 March 1651); and in Vienna, HKA, Hoffinanz, Hofzahlamtsbücher, Sig. 94 (1648).

32 Vienna, HKA, Autographen Nr. 74 (Ferdinand III.), fol. 8r; quoted in Theophil Antonicek, *Musik und italienische Poesie*, fn. 14, p. 1.

33 *Popule meus* is also listed as a work of Ferdinand III in the *Distinta specificazione*, A Wn, Suppl. mus. 2451, fol. 2r: *Popule meus à 2 Alto e Tenor F. 3^o*.

34 Guido Adler, fn. 10, vol. I, p. iii.

<i>Regis superni nuntia</i>	-----
C solo, 4 viole	
[<i>Egregiae Doctor Paule</i>]*	7. <i>Egregiae Doctor Paule</i>
AT, 2 violins, viola da gamba	AT, 2 violins, viola [da gamba]
<i>Placare Christe servulis</i>	-----
4 voices, 4 violins, 2 viole,	
2 cornettos, 4 trombones,	
fagotto con ripieni	
<i>Exultet orbis gaudiis</i>	-----
TB, 2 violins	
<i>Jesu Redemptor omnium</i>	4. <i>Jesu Redemptor omnium</i>
4 voices, flautti grossi,	CATB, 3 flauti, 3 trombe, e
3 trombe, e cappella	cappella
<i>Ave maris stella</i>	1. <i>Ave maris stella</i>
CA, violin, viola da gamba	CA, violin, viola [da gamba]
<i>Veni creator Spiritus</i>	9. <i>Veni creator Spiritus</i>
CCATTB, 3 viole	CCATTB, 2 violette, basso di viola,
-----	violone
-----	2. <i>Jesu corona Virginum</i>
-----	C, 4 viole
-----	3. <i>Iste confessor</i>
	TB, 3 violins
	5. <i>Deus tuorum militum</i>
	CB, cornetto, fagotto

*This hymn is titled *Hymnus in Conversione S. Pauli à 5* in A Wn, Suppl. mus. 2451. In the Viennese liturgy, as in the Roman liturgy, the hymn for this feast was *Egregiae Doctor Paule*. See Friedrich W. Riedel, *Kirchenmusik am Hofe Karls VI. (1711-1740): Untersuchungen zum Verhältnis von Zeremoniell und musikalischem Stil im Barockzeitalter*. Munich - Salzburg 1977, p. 273.

As Table 2 makes plain, the *Distinta specificatione* lacks three hymns that appear in K. N. 28, while, similarly, the Lüneburg manuscript omits three hymns from the *Distinta specificatione*. Three new titles, and no fewer than nine surviving hymns from K. N. 28, then, may be added those known to Adler³⁵.

The Lüneburg manuscript provides additional information about Ferdinand III's compositional activities, since most of the hymns bear dates of composition (see Table 3)³⁶.

35 The only surviving hymn setting known to Adler was *Jesu redemptor omnium*; parts for this work survive in A Wn, Cod. 16042.

36 The pieces by Ferdinand III in K. N. 28 typically carry headings such as: *Ave maris Stella. Hymnus. Imperator composuit. Die 18 Nouembris. 1649*.

Table 3. Dates of Composition and Feast Days for Hymns by Ferdinand III in D Lr, K. N.28

Hymn	Feast	Date of Composition	Feast Date
1. <i>Ave maris stella</i>	Feasts of BVM (Immaculate Conception?)	18.XI.49	8.XII
2. <i>Jesu corona virginum</i>	Feasts of Virgins & Martyrs (St. Lucy?)	20.XI.49	13.XII
3. <i>Iste confessor</i>	Feasts of Confessors (St. Nicholas?) (St. Ambrose?) (St. Damasus?)	30.XI.49	6.XII 7.XII 11.XII
4. <i>Jesu Redemptor omnium</i>	Christmas	3.XII.49	25.XII
5. <i>Deus tuorum militum</i>	Common of One Martyr	17.XII.49	25-31.XII*
6. <i>Crudelis Herodes</i>	Epiphany	20.XII.49	6.I
7. <i>Egregiae Doctor Paule</i>	Conversion of St. Paul	18.I.50	25.I
8. <i>Humanae salutis sator</i>	Ascension	21.V.50	25.V.1650
9. <i>Veni creator Spiritus</i>	Pentecost	1650	5.VI.1650
10. <i>Pange lingua</i>	Corpus Christi	1650	16.VI.1650

*includes a verse marked "*a Nativitate Domini e totam octavam inclusive*".

Ferdinand's composing was concentrated during two periods: the first between mid-November 1649 and mid-January 1650, and the second during May and June 1650. Moreover, Ferdinand seems to have composed hymns that would have been immediately useful. He completed hymns for Advent, Christmas, and Epiphany late in 1649, and turned his attention to hymns for the three major feasts that follow Easter (Ascension, Pentecost, and Corpus Christi) late in the spring of 1650³⁷. The date of composition generally precedes the probable date of performance by just a few weeks, and, in one case (no. 8, *Humanae salutis sator*) by just a few days.

This chronology is particularly interesting, since, just two months before he composed *Ave maris stella* (dated 18 November 1649), Ferdinand III had been introduced to a method of mathematical composition devised by Athanasius Kircher³⁸. Sometime shortly before 18 September 1649, Ferdinand III spent two hours composing, using a machine invented by Kircher, and brought to Vienna by Johann Jakob Froberger³⁹. In that same year, Ferdinand sent Kircher a copy of one of his compositions, the *Drama musicum*⁴⁰.

37 The feast days and dates in Table 3 are based on the calendar published in: *Officia propria sanctorum cathedralis, ecclesia et totius dioecesis Viennensis*. Vienna 1632; and on a Gradual prepared for Ferdinand III by Georg Moser in 1651, A Wn, Cod. 15952.

38 Ulf Scharlau, fn. 8, p. 348; and idem, *Neue Quellenfunde zur Biographie Johann Jakob Frobergers*, in: *Mf* 22 (1969) pp. 47-52.

39 Ulf Scharlau, *Neue Quellenfunde*, fn. 38, pp. 48-50.

40 See the dedication to A Wn, Cod. 16014; quoted, in part, in: *Tabulae codicum manu scriptorum praeter Graecos et Orientales in Bibliotheca Palatina Vindobonensi asservatorum* IX. Vienna 1897, pp. 90-91.

The following year, Kircher published his compositional method in the *Musurgia universalis* (Rome, 1650), claiming that with this system, "anyone, however unskilled in music, may attain a perfect knowledge of composition in a brief time"⁴¹. Although Kircher based his compositional method on mathematical models - which he saw both as the foundation of all knowledge and as a reflection of the underlying unity of creation - his system turns out to be quite simple and utilitarian⁴². A large portion of Book Eight of the *Musurgia universalis* is devoted to expansive tables, which contain series of progressions in four voices, notated using a system of numerals rather than staff notation.

The tables from the *Musurgia universalis* form the basis for Kircher's composing machine⁴³, yet only the final tables yield music that is more complex than lightly ornamented homophony⁴⁴. At first glance, then, Ferdinand III's hymn settings seem unlikely to have made use of the system detailed in the *Musurgia universalis*, for they are cast in an up-to-date concertato style that includes many elements that find little or no role in Kircher's *Ars Nova Musarithmica*: the extensive use of instruments, including the interpolation of many independent instrumental sonatas, numerous passages in recitative style, frequent changes in texture, and even occasional chromatic harmonies. Moreover, Ferdinand III's hymn settings are seldom in four parts, the texture that serves as the foundation for Kircher's mathematical tables.

Nonetheless, there is evidence that Ferdinand III based portions of his hymns loosely on Kircher's treatise. Like most of Ferdinand's music, the hymns are constructed of short phrases, most of which are repeated, either literally or in sequences (see Example 3).

41 Athanasius Kircher, *Musurgia universalis* II. Rome 1650; facs. ed., Hildesheim 1970, p. 1: "ARS NOVA MVSARITHMICA RECENTER INVENTA, qua quiuus etiam quantūmuis Musicae imperitus, ad perfectam componendi notitiam breui tempore pertingere potest."

42 Idem, vol. I, p. 268: "Nvumerus, qui est regula & norma omniu[m], quid in Musico conce[n]tu obseruandu[m] sit [...]."

43 Ulf Scharlau, fn. 8, p. 206.

44 Athanasius Kircher, fn. 41, vol. II, pp. 103-26.

Example 3: Ferdinand II, *Humanae salutis sator*, mm. 1-22

Versus 1: Canto solo

4 - #

#

4 - #

#

4 - #

#

4 - #

#

The phrase structure found in measures 11-22 of Example 3 - where a phrase is stated, repeated at a new pitch level, and then recapitulated at the original pitch - is ubiquitous in the works of Ferdinand III⁴⁵. Such passages (as well as similar passages that employ transposition-like techniques that Kircher called *mutatio tonorum* or *mistura tonorum*)⁴⁶ may reflect the influence of Kircher's principles, as Theophil Antonicek has already suggested⁴⁷. Ferdinand also shows a marked reliance on parallel tenths between the outer voices, a technique that Kircher especially recommends, singling out this interval's special grace

45 This technique occurs, for example, in *Ave maris stella*, mm. 51-64; *Egredie Doctor Paule*, mm. 45-50; *Humanae salutis sator*, mm. 28-32, 45-52, 88-94; *Jesu corona Virginum*, mm. 84-93; and *Jesu redemptor omnium*, mm. 31-44, 116-35.

46 For a discussion of the terms *mutatio toni*, *alteratio modi*, *mutatio modi*, and similar concepts see Eva Linfield, *Modulatory Techniques in Seventeenth-Century Music*: Schütz, A Case in Point, in: *Music Analysis* 12 (1993) pp. 197-214.

47 Theophil Antonicek, *Die italienischen Textvertonungen*, fn. 14, pp. 211 and 230-32. In addition to the passages cited by Antonicek in support of this idea see also Athanasius Kircher, fn. 41, vol. II, pp. 62-65 and 72-73.

and beauty⁴⁸. There are far more concrete examples of Ferdinand's reliance on Kircher, however. A portion of Kircher's fourth table (see Example 4) shows a remarkable similarity to the ritornello from Ferdinand III's setting of *Jesu corona Virginum*.

Example 4: Athanasius Kircher, *Musurgia universalis* II (Rome, 1650) p. 83

Lib. VIII. Musurgia Mirifica.

P I N A X I V.
Iambica Euripedæa penultima longa.

Forma metri rit. Aue maris stella.

Stropha I.					Stropha II.					Stropha III.					Stropha IV.				
I.	II.	III.	IV.	V.	I.	II.	III.	IV.	V.	I.	II.	III.	IV.	V.	I.	II.	III.	IV.	V.
5	5	3	2	3	5	4	3	2	4	5	4	3	2	3	5	4	3	2	3
8	7	1	7	7	7	7	5	7	8	7	7	5	7	7	7	5	6	5	1
3	2	3	4	5	3	2	3	5	8	5	3	2	3	4	5	3	2	3	1
8	5	8	7	3	3	7	8	5	6	5	3	7	8	7	1	3	7	8	4
5	5	5	5	5	3	3	3	3	2	2	2	2	8	7	5	5	4	3	3
8	8	8	7	8	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	5	5	5	7	6	5	5	1
3	3	3	2	3	5	5	5	4	4	4	4	3	2	3	5	1	4	7	1
1	1	1	1	1	3	3	3	7	7	7	7	7	8	5	3	2	4	1	5
8	3	3	6	5	7	0	7	3	2	2	3	1	4	1	7	7	6	8	7
5	7	8	7	8	2	4	5	4	5	5	5	7	8	7	7	5	5	4	5
3	4	4	2	3	7	8	5	8	6	7	3	4	8	2	1	3	2	8	2
8	7	6	4	5	5	4	3	2	1	5	8	7	6	3	7	2	4	6	5
3	2	2	1	7	3	2	3	5	4	5	1	4	1	2	8	7	0	8	7
8	7	5	5	5	5	7	8	7	7	7	7	7	8	7	6	5	4	5	5
5	5	4	3	2	3	4	8	3	2	3	2	3	4	5	5	3	1	2	3
1	1	2	4	5	8	7	6	3	7	3	7	1	1	7	6	3	4	1	1
1	2	3	4	5	3	2	3	5	8	3	5	4	5	4	5	8	2	3	3
8	7	8	1	7	1	7	8	7	6	5	7	1	3	2	8	7	6	7	8
5	5	5	3	3	5	4	3	4	7	5	7	5	8	2	1	4	5	5	5
8	5	1	7	3	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
5	5	5	4	5	3	2	3	5	4	5	1	4	3	2	3	5	4	3	2
8	8	7	8	8	5	7	8	7	7	7	7	7	8	7	7	0	5	5	5
3	3	2	1	2	3	4	8	3	2	3	2	3	4	5	5	3	1	7	1
1	1	6	5	1	8	7	6	3	7	3	7	2	2	8	7	6	2	4	5
5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	4	4	2	2	2	2	3	5	1	4	3	2
8	8	7	8	6	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	5	7	7	6	5	5	5
3	3	2	3	3	2	3	2	2	2	4	4	4	3	5	3	1	1	7	1
8	8	5	8	8	3	1	7	7	7	7	7	7	8	5	3	1	4	1	1
5	5	5	4	4	5	5	5	4	2	3	2	1	4	1	5	8	8	7	8
7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	5	5	7	8	7	7	7	7	7	7	8	7
3	3	2	3	2	2	2	2	8	7	3	4	8	2	1	8	3	4	8	2
3	3	3	7	7	5	5	3	7	8	5	8	7	6	3	7	3	4	6	5
5	5	4	5	5	5	4	3	2	2	2	5	4	3	2	3	5	4	3	2
7	7	6	7	8	7	5	7	8	7	7	7	5	7	7	7	7	5	8	7
3	3	1	2	3	2	2	3	5	8	2	3	2	3	4	5	5	2	3	2
3	3	4	5	1	3	7	8	5	5	3	7	8	7	3	7	8	4	5	1
3	4	4	2	3	2	3	5	2	3	5	4	5	4	3	5	8	2	3	2
8	7	6	5	1	7	8	7	6	5	7	2	1	8	7	6	5	7	8	7
1	4	3	8	7	3	4	8	3	4	7	1	7	1	8	2	4	5	5	5
1	2	3	4	5	2	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	7	6	5	4	3	2	1

Notæ Temporis.

3		3		3		3	
3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23
24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31
32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39
40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47
48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55
56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63
64	65	66	67	68	69	70	71
72	73	74	75	76	77	78	79
80	81	82	83	84	85	86	87
88	89	90	91	92	93	94	95
96	97	98	99	100	101	102	103
104	105	106	107	108	109	110	111
112	113	114	115	116	117	118	119
120	121	122	123	124	125	126	127
128	129	130	131	132	133	134	135
136	137	138	139	140	141	142	143
144	145	146	147	148	149	150	151
152	153	154	155	156	157	158	159
160	161	162	163	164	165	166	167
168	169	170	171	172	173	174	175
176	177	178	179	180	181	182	183
184	185	186	187	188	189	190	191
192	193	194	195	196	197	198	199
200	201	202	203	204	205	206	207
208	209	210	211	212	213	214	215
216	217	218	219	220	221	222	223
224	225	226	227	228	229	230	231
232	233	234	235	236	237	238	239
240	241	242	243	244	245	246	247
248	249	250	251	252	253	254	255
256	257	258	259	260	261	262	263
264	265	266	267	268	269	270	271
272	273	274	275	276	277	278	279
280	281	282	283	284	285	286	287
288	289	290	291	292	293	294	295
296	297	298	299	300	301	302	303
304	305	306	307	308	309	310	311
312	313	314	315	316	317	318	319
320	321	322	323	324	325	326	327
328	329	330	331	332	333	334	335
336	337	338	339	340	341	342	343
344	345	346	347	348	349	350	351
352	353	354	355	356	357	358	359
360	361	362	363	364	365	366	367
368	369	370	371	372	373	374	375
376	377	378	379	380	381	382	383
384	385	386	387	388	389	390	391
392	393	394	395	396	397	398	399
400	401	402	403	404	405	406	407
408	409	410	411	412	413	414	415
416	417	418	419	420	421	422	423
424	425	426	427	428	429	430	431
432	433	434	435	436	437	438	439
440	441	442	443	444	445	446	447
448	449	450	451	452	453	454	455
456	457	458	459	460	461	462	463
464	465	466	467	468	469	470	471
472	473	474	475	476	477	478	479
480	481	482	483	484	485	486	487
488	489	490	491	492	493	494	495
496	497	498	499	500	501	502	503
504	505	506	507	508	509	510	511
512	513	514	515	516	517	518	519
520	521	522	523	524	525	526	527
528	529	530	531	532	533	534	535
536	537	538	539	540	541	542	543
544	545	546	547	548	549	550	551
552	553	554	555	556	557	558	559
560	561	562	563	564	565	566	567
568	569	570	571	572	573	574	575
576	577	578	579	580	581	582	583
584	585	586	587	588	589	590	591
592	593	594	595	596	597	598	599
600	601	602	603	604	605	606	607
608	609	610	611	612	613	614	615
616	617	618	619	620	621	622	623
624	625	626	627	628	629	630	631
632	633	634	635	636	637	638	639
640	641	642	643	644	645	646	647
648	649	650	651	652	653	654	655
656	657	658	659	660	661	662	663
664	665	666	667	668	669	670	671
672	673	674	675	676	677	678	679
680	681	682	683	684	685	686	687
688	689	690	691	692	693	694	695
696	697	698	699	700	701	702	703
704	705	706	707	708	709	710	711
712	713	714	715	716	717	718	719
720	721	722	723	724	725	726	727
728	729	730	731	732	733	734	735
736	737	738	739	740	741	742	743
744	745	746	747	748	749	750	751
752	753	754	755	756	757	758	759
760	761	762	763	764	765	766	767
768	769	770	771	772	773	774	775
776	777	778	779	780	781	782	783
784	785	786	787	788	789	790	791
792	793	794	795	796	797	798	799
800	801	802	803	804	805	806	807

The third box from the left-hand column of Example 4 contains the following series:

8	2	3	6	5	5
5	7	8	8	7	8
3	4	8	4	2	3
8	7	6	4	5	1

Each of the rows in this array corresponds to a vocal range (the top line is the cantus, the second the altus, etc.), and each of the numerals corresponds to a "scale degree" in a given mode. By selecting a rhythmic pattern from the bottom of Kircher's table, and assigning the notes to each part based on the numerals, it is possible to generate a complete phrase using Kircher's *musarithmus*. The numerals above, when coupled with Kircher's fifth rhythmic pattern and placed in mode 2, might yield the passage shown in Example 5⁴⁹.

Example 5: Progression derived from Athanasius Kircher, *Musurgia universalis*, Pinax IV, p. 83

The musical score consists of four staves, each with a different clef and a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The time signature is 3/4. The notes and their corresponding numerals are as follows:

Staff	Clef	Notes (from left to right)	Numerals (from left to right)
1	Cantus (Soprano)	G4, A4, B4, C5, B4, A4	8, 2, 3, 6, 5, 5
2	Altus (Alto)	F#4, G4, A4, B4, A4, G4	5, 7, 8, 8, 7, 8
3	Tenor	E4, F4, G4, F4, E4, D4	3, 4, 8, 4, 2, 3
4	Bass	G3, F3, E3, D3, C3, B2	8, 7, 6, 4, 5, 1

⁴⁹ It is perhaps no coincidence that this particular pattern resembles the ritornello from *Jesu corona Virginum*. Kircher selected this same progression for use as an example in explaining his system, and he, too, employed the second mode. See idem, vol. II, pp. 81-82.

It is not hard to imagine how this design might have served as the basis for elaboration in Ferdinand III's ritornello from *Jesu corona Virginum* (Example 6).

Example 6: Ferdinand III, *Jesu corona Virginum*, mm. 1-6

Ritornello

The musical score is divided into two systems. The first system contains measures 1 through 3, and the second system contains measures 4 through 6. The staves are labeled as follows: Viola (top), Viola, Viola, Viola, and Basso continuo (bottom). The key signature has one sharp (F#), and the time signature is 3/4. The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and accidentals, with some notes marked with a 'b' (flat) and others with a '#' (sharp). The Basso continuo line is marked with a 'B.c.' and includes a '4' below it in measure 4.

Kircher's texture has been expanded from four to five voices, and the original has been transformed through voice exchange, foreshortening (mm. 1-2), transposition (mm. 2-3), and elaboration of the dominant (mm. 5-6). Nonetheless, the same bass line and harmonic pattern provide the foundation for both passages. Possibly, other portions of Ferdinand's hymn settings derive in even more subtle ways from some of Kircher's teachings. Although my preliminary survey of the hymns suggests that any remaining relationships will be even more tenuous than those between Examples 5 and 6, it is worth recalling that Kircher claimed not to have published the most arcane and noble secrets of his system in

the *Musurgia universalis*, but instead had reserved them for "*princes and most worthy friends*"⁵⁰.

Kircher's influence may, perhaps, be detected in Ferdinand's hymn settings, particularly in their often formulaic and repetitive phrase structures. Nevertheless, these works also testify to the emperor's thorough assimilation of the latest developments in Italianate vocal writing. In fact, the Lüneburg hymns manifest a far more progressive and interesting compositional voice than most of the works published by Adler. These hymn settings evince an easy command of the most up-to-date vocal styles, and this facility doubtless stems from the emperor's close personal contact with the Italian musicians of the imperial music chapel. Ferdinand's comfortable, almost casual relationship with the chapel master Giovanni Valentini, for example, emerges in letters to Archduke Leopold Wilhelm⁵¹. The chapel master's tutelage is apparent in the emperor's use of techniques that also characterize Valentini's music: passages based on chains of thirds (Example 7), and a strong tendency to repeat motives a step higher or lower, with a corresponding avoidance of repetition at the level of the fourth or fifth.

Example 7: Ferdinand III, *Deus tuorum militum*, mm. 1-11

Sonata

The musical score is presented in two systems. The first system includes parts for Cornetto, Fagotto, and Basso continuo. The second system includes parts for Cl. (Clarinete), Fg. (Fagotto), and B.c. (Basso continuo). The music is in G major and 3/4 time. The vocal line (implied by the instrument parts) features a chain of thirds, which is imitated by the instruments. The score is labeled 'Sonata' at the top.

⁵⁰ Idem, vol. II, p. 184; quoted in Theophil Antonicek, *Die italienischen Textvertonungen*, fn. 14, p. 231. Antonicek, who was first to explore a possible kinship between Ferdinand's compositions and Kircher's treatise, also pointed out the difficulty of proving such a relationship definitively.

⁵¹ Theophil Antonicek, *Musik und italienische Poesie*, fn. 14, pp. 1-3; and Steven Saunders, *Sacred Music at the Hapsburg Court of Ferdinand II (1615-1637): The Latin Vocal Works of Giovanni Priuli and Giovanni Valentini*. Ph.D. diss., University of Pittsburgh 1990, pp. 473-74.

While a certain kinship between Ferdinand's music and that of Valentini is evident, Ferdinand's hymns resemble even more strongly the music of the next generation of Italian composers at the imperial court. This style is represented in works from the 1640s and 1650s by Giovanni Felice Sances and Antonio Bertalli. Ferdinand's compositions move fluidly between duple and triple meter (Example 3, mm. 1-3), a trend that typifies Italianate writing, especially from the 1620s onward⁵². The triple meter sections - notated in modern sesquialtera notation, with three minims per tactus - exhibit a graceful, luxuriant vocal style, dominated by melismatic sequences, that imperial court composers cultivated in the 1630s and 1640s (cf. Example 3, mm. 11-18, and Example 8).

Example 8: Giovanni Felice Sances, *Plagae tuae*, mm. 59-64, from *Motetti a una, due, tre, e quatro voci* (Venice, 1641)

The image displays two systems of musical notation for a tenor and basso continuo. The first system, labeled 'Tenore' and 'Basso continuo', shows a tenor line in treble clef with a 3/2 time signature and a basso continuo line in bass clef. The lyrics 'Trans-fi-ge ob-se-cro me-du-las et vi-sce-ra a - - -' are written below the tenor staff. The second system, labeled 'T.' and 'B.c.', shows a tenor line in treble clef and a basso continuo line in bass clef. The lyrics 'ni-mae me-ae,' are written below the tenor staff. Both systems include figured bass notation below the basso continuo staff.

Ferdinand's compositions have even absorbed the more subtle nuances of the new musical vernacular. Among his favorite gestures are the graceful *anticipazione della sillaba* (Example 3, mm. 12, 15, and 18) and the use of simultaneous suspensions and anticipations at cadences, creating "Corelli clashes" (Example 3, mm. 5, 8, 13, 17, 20, and 22). These figures entered the lingua franca of Italian composers at the imperial court during the 1630s and 1640s (see Example 9)⁵³, though they are almost never encountered in Viennese works of the 1620s⁵⁴.

⁵² Tim Carter, *Music in Late Renaissance and Early Baroque Italy*. Portland, Oregon 1992, pp. 250-52.

⁵³ See, for example, Peter Webhofer, *Giovanni Felice Sances (ca. 1600-1677): Biographisch-bibliographische Untersuchung und Studie über sein Motettenwerk*. Rome 1964, p. 151.

⁵⁴ Steven Saunders, fn. 20, *passim*.

Example 9: Antonio Bertali, *Exultate et cantate*, mm. 29-34, from Giorgio Rolla (ed.), *Teatro musicale de concerti ecclesiastici* (Milan, 1649)

Canto

Alto

Basso

Basso continuo

ra, psal - te - ri - um iu - cun - dum cum ci - tha - ra,

4 3

The information that can be gleaned from K. N. 28 provides a fresh window onto another crucial source for music at the imperial court in the mid-seventeenth century: an inventory of music from the court of Ferdinand III's brother, Archduke Leopold Wilhelm⁵⁵. This list contains no fewer than twenty works attributed to one of the Habsburg emperors (See Table 4)⁵⁶.

Table 4. Works Attributed to Habsburg Emperors in HKA, NÖHA, W61/A/32

- [1] Vn altro libro grosso con una Messa a 5 voci di Ferdinando iii^o di fel:^{ma} mem:^a
- [2] Vn altra Messa dell Aug:^{mo} Imp.^{re} Ferdinando iii à 7 con Cornetto e fagotto
- [3] Messa à 8 con otto instrumeti di Ferdinando 3.^o Aug.^{mo}
- [4] A[ve] *Maris stella* à 4.^o Canto et alto violino, et viola di Sua M.^{ta} Ces.^a
- [5] *Jesu Redemptor omnium* à 4.^o voci tre Flauti, et tre Trombe di S. M.^{ta}
- [6] *Exultet orbis gaudijs* à 4. Tenori e Basso, doi violini in concerto
- [7] Altro Himno *JESU corona virginum* a 5. Canto solo et 4 viole di S. M. C.
- [8] *Venite peccatores* à quattro voci pare di S. M. C.
- [9] Muta de Motetti di S. M. C.
- [11] *Ave Maris stella* Sop.^{no} solo con quatro viole di S. M. C.
- [11] *Alma Redemptoris* à 4.^o con 4 Instrum.^{ti} di S. M. C.
- [12] Letanie à 7 di S. M. C.
- [13] Sonata à 5 instrumeti duoi violini, due viole e Basso di Sua M.^{ta} Ces.^a
- [14] *Dialogo spirituale si stringo al petto* à 6 voci di S. M. C.
- [15] Canzonetta à 2 Sop.ⁿⁱ sopra il letto di Ferdinando 3.^o

55 Vienna, HKA, Niederösterreichische Herrschaftsakten [NÖHA], W61/A/32, fols. 2-11; excerpts in Adolph Kocirz, Exzerpte aus den Hofmusikakten des Wiener Hofkammerarchivs, in: *StMw* 1 (1913) pp. 281-82.

56 Twenty-one works are listed in Table 4, since one additional composition from the inventory (no. 6, *Jesu Redemptor omnium*) can be shown to be by Ferdinand III (see below).

- [16] *So[n] r[ote] le Cattene* a 2 soprani di S. M.
 [17] *Se a penar, e a sudar gran sangue* à 2 soprani 2 viole, et 2 violini di S. M.
 [18] *Canzonetta luci d'acque et fonti chiare* à soprano solo con doi violini di S. M.
 [19] *Io voglio cantare* à 2 soprani Canzonetta di S. M.
 [20] *Filleno noi siamo doi* à quattro C. T. et doi violini di S. M. C.
 [21] *Concerto Spirituale* à quattro voci di S. M. C.^a

Four works in this list are attributed unambiguously to Ferdinand III (nos. 1, 2, 3, and 15), while the remainder are attributed simply to "*His Majesty*" or "*His Imperial Majesty*" (S[ua] M[aestà] C[esarea]). Since the list was drawn up after Ferdinand III's death⁵⁷, it has never been clear whether works bearing such attributions were composed by him, or by the reigning emperor, Leopold I⁵⁸. At least seven of the works whose attribution has been open to question, however, can be confidently assigned to Ferdinand III. The four hymn settings (nos. 4-7) all correspond to those by Ferdinand known either from the *Distinta specificatione* or from K. N. 28. *Ave maris stella* (no. 4) and *Jesu redemptor omnium* (no. 5) appear in both the *Distinta specificatione* and in K. N. 28⁵⁹. Moreover, *Jesu redemptor omnium* is attributed to Ferdinand III in yet another source, the set of parts from the imperial Hofkapelle that Adler used as the basis of his edition⁶⁰. *Exultet urbis* (no. 6) is listed as a composition by Ferdinand III in the *Distinta specificatione*⁶¹, while *Jesu corona virginum* (no. 7) is preserved in K. N. 28.

Still further works in the list are almost certainly by Ferdinand III. The texts to *Se a penar* (no. 17) and *Luci d'acque* (no. 18) are both found in Ferdinand's collection of poetry, *Poesie diverse composte in hore rubate d'Academico Occupato*⁶², and *Io voglio cantare* (no. 19) is not only attributed to Ferdinand III in the *Distinta specificatione*⁶³, but survives, complete with music, in the University Library at Uppsala⁶⁴. Since so many of the works attributed to "S.

57 The inventory refers to *Ferdinando iii^o di fel.^{ma} mem.^a*; see Table 4, no. 1.

58 Koczirz attributes the works without hesitation to Leopold I; see fn. 55, p. 281. Theophil Antonicek is more circumspect, leaving the attribution question open; see *Musik und italienische Poesie*, fn. 14, pp. 20-21.

59 A Wn, Suppl. mus. 2451, fol. 3v: *Himnus Jesu Redemptor omnium à 4 voci flautti grossi 3 trombe e Capella* and *Himnus. Ave Maris Stella à 4 C. A. Violino e Viola da Gamba*.

60 A Wn, Cod. 16042; see also Guido Adler, fn. 10, vol. I, pp. 17-30 and vol. II, pp. 298-99.

61 *Exultet urbis*, while it is listed between two other hymn settings by Ferdinand III, is not explicitly attributed to him in the inventory of Leopold Wilhelm's music (see Table 2, [6]). The identity of the two settings, however, is confirmed by the identical scorings. A Wn, Suppl. mus. 2451, fol. 3v: *Himnus de Comuni Apostolorum à 4. T. B. e 2 Violini Exultet orbis gaudijs*.

62 See fn. 6. For additional information on this collection see Erika Kanduth, *Italianische Dichtung am Wiener Hof im 17. Jahrhundert*, in: Alberto Martino (ed.), *Beiträge zur Aufnahme der italienischen und spanischen Literatur in Deutschland im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert*. Amsterdam - Atlanta 1990 (Chloe 9) pp. 171-207.

63 A Wn, Suppl. mus. 2451, fol. 7v: *Io voglio cantare, à 2 Canti F. 3^o*.

64 Sweden, Uppsala, Universitetsbiblioteket [S Uu], Vok. mus. i hs. 53:12a: *Canzonetta Di S. M.^{ta} Ces.^a/Io uoglio cantare Pazzia d'Amanti. à 2 Sopr.ⁿⁱ*.

M." or "S. M. C." can be shown to be compositions of Ferdinand III, it is probable that all of the works listed in Table 4 are his. This conclusion receives strong confirmation from the lack of any works by Leopold I (either surviving or listed in the *Distinta specificazione*) that match the descriptions in the inventory⁶⁵.

There are still further works by Ferdinand III that have been overlooked, including his only known setting of a German text, *Glücklich ist die Einsamkeit*, for a bass singer and basso continuo. A manuscript copy of this song is preserved in the Landesarchiv - Historisches Staatsarchiv at Oranienbaum, Germany [D ORB]⁶⁶. Another composition is preserved in manuscript in the Lüneburg Ratsbücherei: a setting of *Deus misereatur nostri* for six voices (CCATTB) and basso continuo in Mus. ant. pract. K. N. 206. This manuscript, which is dated 1647, is almost entirely in the hand of Matthias Weckmann⁶⁷, and contains a number of works by composers associated with the imperial court, including Giovanni Valentini and Georg Pichelmair. The same setting of *Deus misereatur nostri* is mentioned as well in the 1658 Nachlaß of Andreas Unger⁶⁸. In addition, seventeenth-century inventories and the correspondence of members of the imperial family mention a large number of compositions by Ferdinand III that have not come down to us⁶⁹. A listing of these works is found in the Appendix, below.

A thoroughgoing examination of Ferdinand III's output and its place in the imperial court repertoire has yet to be undertaken. Still, it is clear that he was a far more prolific and multi-faceted composer than has been imagined. His com-

65 Günther Brosche, fn. 13, pp. 36-82.

66 Germany, Oranienbaum, Landesarchiv-Historisches Staatsarchiv, Abteilung Bernburg A 10, Nr. 95a, *Aria Imperatoris Ferdinandj Tertij / So Ihre Kayserl. Mayte. Anno 1637. Unter einer / Linde, als Die von dero Kayserliche Gemahlin zu der / Armee gereiset, selbst Componirt, zusambt dem Text.*

67 Alexander Silbiger, The Autographs of Matthias Weckmann: A Reevaluation, in: Anne Orbæk Jensen - Ole Kongsted (eds.), *Heinrich Schütz und Die Musik in Dänemark zur Zeit Christians IV.* Copenhagen 1989, pp. 119-24.

68 Arno Werner, Die alte Musikbibliothek und die Instrumentensammlung von St. Wenzel in Naumburg a. d. S., in: *AMw* 8 (1926) pp. 390-415.

69 One important seventeenth-century inventory lists two works that might plausibly be attributed to Ferdinand III: Vienna, StA, Allgemeines Verwaltungsarchiv, Familien-Archiv Harrach, Karton 773 (unfoliated). The list is undated, but records payments for copying music to Nicolas Adriani from Matthaeus Plannischek, who signs himself a musician of the empress Eleonora [Gonzaga]. (Neither Adriani nor Plannischek is listed in Herbert Seifert, *Die Musiker der beiden Kaiserinnen Eleonora Gonzaga*, in: Manfred Angerer et al. (ed.), *Festschrift Othmar Wessely zum 60. Geburtstag*. Tutzing 1982, pp. 527-54. This inventory includes a *Missa Imperatoris 6 voci un violino et sei ripieni* and a *Missa Ferdinandi 4 voci 2 violini et 4 ripieni*. The former work may be the same as the *Missa à 6 voci 2 Canti A.T.T.B. con Ripieni* by Leopold I listed in the *Distinta specificazione*, fol. 1r. The latter work is almost surely Giovanni Valentini's *Missa Ferdinandi*, which is preserved, with precisely the scoring mentioned in the inventory, in Czech Republic, Kromeriz, Státní Zámek a Zahrady, Historicko-Umelecké Fondy, Hudební Archiv, A 3/Breit. I 4.

positional activities spanned almost his entire adult life, and they demonstrate the devotion to the arts for which he was particularly noted⁷⁰. Nearly all of Ferdinand's contemporaries remarked on his musical proclivities, but it was Leopold Wilhelm who most eloquently captured his brother's passion for music when he wrote that Ferdinand, "*supported [his] scepter both upon the sword and upon the harmonious lyre*"⁷¹.

APPENDIX: *List of the Compositions of Ferdinand III*

I. *Surviving Compositions*

1. *Aria for Keyboard*

In: Wolfgang Ebner, *Aria Sr. kais. Majestät Ferdinand III. 36-Mahl verändert* (Prague, 1648)⁷²

A Wm, XIV 731, fol. 10v-20v⁷³

A Wn, Cod. 18574 (excerpts from above)

2. *Ave maris stella*

D Lr, Mus. ant. pract. K. N. 28

3. *Chi volge ne la mente*

Athanasius Kircher, *Musurgia universalis* (Rome 1650), 685-9

A Wn, Cod. 18575

A Wgm, V-29254

D B, Mus. ms. autogr. Printz 1

4. *Crudelis Herodes*

D Lr, Mus. ant. pract. K. N. 28

5. *Deus misereatur nostri*

D Lr, Mus. ant. pract. K. N. 206

6. *Deus tuorum militum*

D Lr, Mus. ant. pract. K. N. 28

⁷⁰ As early as 1630, the Venetian ambassador Sebastiano Vernier wrote that Ferdinand was "*attendendo à studij di lettere, ne quali fà qualche progresso, componendo uersi, et in musica assai bene*"; see Joseph Fiedler, fn. 4, p. 152. Ferdinand's artistic activities can also be confirmed as early as 1628 from his correspondence; see Theophil Antonicek, *Musik und italienische Poesie*, fn. 14, p. 2.

⁷¹ Quoted in Guido Adler, fn. 10, vol. I, p. iii: "*Fonda il Cesare il scettro/E su la spada e sul canoro plettro.*"

⁷² For a list of editions see the article s.v. *Wolfgang Ebner* by John D. Arnn, in: *NGrove*, vol. 5, pp. 817.

⁷³ Friedrich Wilhelm Riedel, *Das Musikarchiv im Minoritenkonvent zu Wien (Katalog des älteren Bestandes vor 1784)*. Kassel 1963 (*Catalogus musicus* 1) p. 91. See further, Theophil Antonicek, *Musik und italienische Poesie*, fn. 14, p. 19.

7. *Drama musicum*

A Wn, Cod. 16014

A Wn, 19242, no. 55 (excerpt)

A Wgm, V-49953

D B, Mus. ms. 6135

Copy (now lost?) formerly in private collection⁷⁴

8. *Egregiae Doctor Paule*

D Lr, Mus. ant. pract. K. N. 28

9. *Humanae salutis sator*

D Lr, Mus. ant. pract. K. N. 28

10. *Glücklich ist die Einsamkeit*

D ORB, Abteilung Bernburg A 10 Nr. 95a

11. *Io voglio cantare pazzia d'amanti*

S Uu, Vok. mus. i hs. 53: 12a

12. *Iste confessor*

D Lr, Mus. ant. pract. K. N. 28

13. *Jesu corona virginum*

D Lr, Mus. ant. pract. K. N. 28

14. *Jesu redemptor omnium*

A Wn, Cod. 16042

D Lr, Mus. ant. pract. K. N. 28

15. *Litaniae Lauretanae*

A KR, L 14

D Rp, Ms. Proske, Bd. 9⁷⁵

16. *Missa à 13 (optionally à 8)*

A KR, L 14

⁷⁴ This copy was formerly in the collection of Alexander Posonyi; see Theophil Antonicek, *Die italienischen Textvertonungen*, fn. 14, p. 209. Ludwig Köchel also maintained that he had seen a copy of the *Drama musicum* in Munich, a claim verified by another witness who apparently had access to the same copy; see Ferdinand Bischoff, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Musikpflege in Steiermark*, in: *Mitteilungen des historischen Vereines für Steiermark* 37 (1889) p. 164.

⁷⁵ Robert Eitner, *Biographisch-bibliographisches Quellenlexikon der Musiker und Musikgelehrten der christlichen Zeitrechnung bis zur Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts*. Leipzig 1899-1904; repr., New York: *Mursurgia*, n.d. vol. III, p. 418.

17. *Miserere*⁷⁶

A Wn, Cod. 11774
A Wn, Cod. 18583
A Wgm, I-7460
D B, Mus. ms. Teschner 120
D Dlb, Mus. 1711-E-1⁷⁷

18. *Pange lingua*

D Lr, Mus. ant. pract. K. N. 28

19. *Popule Meus*

D Lr, Mus. ant. pract. K. N. 28

20. *Veni Creator Spiritus*

D Lr, Mus. ant. pract. K. N. 28

II. Works mentioned in Archival Documents and Inventories

1. A Wn, Suppl. mus. 2451 (*Distinta specificatione*)

Missa à 5 (Soprano solo + 4-voice cappella)
Motet, *Mememento salutis* (CCT)
Motet, *Ave virgo* (C + 4 viole)
Motet, *Popule meus* (AT)⁷⁸
Motet, *Peccavimus* (4 voices)
Motet, *Peccavi* (con la Lÿra) (CB + 4-voice cappella)
10 Hymns⁷⁹: *Humanae salutis sator*
Crudelis Herodes
Pange lingua
Regis superni nuntia
[*Egregiae Doctor Paule*]
Placare Christe servulis
Exultet orbis gaudiis
Jesu Redemptor ominum
Ave maris stella
Veni Creator Spiritus
Stabat mater (CCT)
Io voglio cantare (CC)⁸⁰

⁷⁶ The *Miserere* is mentioned in Vienna, HHStA, Familienkorrespondenz A, Karton 11, Konvolut 5, fol. 20v, Ferdinand III to Archduke Leopold Wilhelm, 9 April 1640.

⁷⁷ Robert Eitner, fn. 75, vol. III, p. 418. This nineteenth-century manuscript, containing a single verse of the *Miserere*, is now lost. Communication from Fr. Ute Härtwig, Germany, Sächsische Landesbibliothek (Musikabteilung), 19 December 1994.

⁷⁸ Probably concordant with the setting in D Lr, Mus. ant. pract. K. N. 28.

⁷⁹ For additional information on the concordances to these hymns, see Table 2.

⁸⁰ *Io voglio cantare* is probably concordant with S Uu, Vok. mus. i hs. 53: 12a. It is also mentioned in the inventory Vienna, HKA, W61/A/32.

2. A W(HKA), W61/A/32

Messa à 5 voci

Missa à 7 (con cornetto e fagotto)

Missa à 8 (con 8 instrumenti)

Ave maris stella (CA, vln., viola)⁸¹

Jesu Redemptor omnium (4 vv., 3 flauti, 3 trombe)⁸²

Exultet orbis gaudijs (TB, 2 vlms. in concerto)⁸³

Jesu corona virginum (C, 4 viole)⁸⁴

Venite peccatores motet (4 vv.)

Muta de Motetti di S. M. C.

Ave maris stella (Sopr. solo, 4 viole)

Alma Redemptoris (à 4, 4 instruments)

Letanie à 7

Sonata à 5 (2 vlms., 2 viole, basso)

Dialogo spirituale: *Si stringo al petto* (6 vv.)

Canzonetta à 2. Sop[rani] sopra *Il letto*

So[n rotte] *le Cattene* (2 Sopr.)

Se a penar, e a sudar gran sangue (SS, 2 viole, 2 vlms.)⁸⁵

Canzonetta, *Luci d'acque et fonti chiare* (S, 2 vlms.)⁸⁶

Canzonetta, *Io voglio cantare* (SS)⁸⁷

Filleno noi siamo (ST, 2 vlms.)

Concerto spirituale (4 vv.)

3. From the 1658 Naumburg Nachlaß of Andreas Unger⁸⁸

Deus miseriatuŕ nostri à 6

4. From a list of works performed by J. P. Krieger⁸⁹

Missa à 6 o à 10 (CATB + 2 violins)

⁸¹ This setting is also found in the *Distinta specificatione* and in D Lr, K. N. 28.

⁸² This setting is found in the *Distinta specificatione*, in D Lr, K. N. 28 and in A Wn, Cod. 16042.

⁸³ This setting is also listed in the *Distinta specificatione*.

⁸⁴ This setting is preserved in D Lr, K. N. 28.

⁸⁵ The text to this work is found in: [Ferdinand III], *Poesie diverse [...] d'Academico Occupato*, fn. 6.

⁸⁶ The text to this work is found in: idem.

⁸⁷ Probably concordant with S Uu, Vok. mus. i hs. 53: 12a; also mentioned in the *Distinta specificatione*.

⁸⁸ Arno Werner, fn. 68, p. 407: "*Ferdinand III./Deus miseriatuŕ nostri, à 6*". This setting is probably concordant with the one in D Lr, K. N. 206.

⁸⁹ Johann Philipp Krieger, *21 Ausgewählte Kirchenkompositionen*, ed. by Max Seifert. Wiesbaden 1958 (DDT 53) p. lv: "*Missa. a 6 o a 10. 4 voc. 2 viol.*" Krieger performed the Mass in 1687.

5. From a 1662 Weimar inventory⁹⁰
 Missa
 Laudate pueri (3 vv., 5 instruments)

6. From Athanasius Kircher's *Musurgia universalis* (Rome 1650)⁹¹
 Salve Regina

7. From an inventory, c. 1700, of the Stift St. Paul (Kärnten)⁹²
 Hymn setting

8. From an inventory of the Michaelisschule in Lüneburg⁹³
 Ich freue mich in dir, u. heiße dich willkommen
 Aria à 6 (CATB, 2 vlms.)
 Surrexit pastor bonus (C, 2 vlms., cappella à 5)

9. From Vienna, HHStA, Familienkorrespondenz, Karton 11, Konvolut 3, fol.
 37r Ferdinand III to Archduke Leopold Wilhelm, 23 May 1636⁹⁴.
 Unnamed work for 2 Tenors

10. From Vienna, HHStA, Familienkorrespondenz, Karton 11, Konvolut 5, fol.
 153, Ferdinand III to Archduke Leopold Wilhelm, 24 August 1642⁹⁵.
 Il Tereno mio Tesoro (canzonetta to text by Leopold Wilhelm)
 madrigal (otherwise unidentified)

⁹⁰ Eberhard Möller, Die Weimarer Noteninventare von 1662 und ihre Bedeutung als Schütz-Quellen, in: *Schütz-Jb* 10 (1988) pp. 75-6: "256 65. Missa: So Keyserl: Majest: Ferdinandi. Componiret; 313 14. *Laudate Pueri. à 3 Voc. & 5. instr: Ferdin: [remainder illegible].*"

⁹¹ Ulf Scharlau, fn. 38, p. 348.

⁹² Hellmut Federhofer, Alte Musikalien-Inventare der Klöster St. Paul (Kärnten) und Göß (Steiermark), in: *KmJb* 35 (1951) p. 103: "*Hymnus Ferdinandi 3: Imperat.*".

⁹³ Max Seiffert, Die Chorbibliothek der St. Michaelisschule in Lüneburg zu Seb. Bach's Zeit, in: *SiMG* 9 (1907/08) pp. 593-621.

⁹⁴ Cited in: Theophil Antonicek, *Musik und italienische Poesie*, fn. 14, p. 6.

⁹⁵ Cited in: idem, p. 4.